NOW

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THE ISSUE IN VIETNAM

EVENTS in Vietnam have long ceased to be a subject for ideological attitudinizing. What has been happening in the past few weeks should silence not only the clever comment of the unconcerned but also the barren disputations of parasitical politics. It is no longer a question of taking sides in a political controversy. The central fact should now be clear to all but those who are determined not to see. The people of a small Asian country have been struggling for years to free themselves from the clutches of the world's mightiest nation which will not let go of them until they have been totally destroyed.

How else can one explain Dean Rusk's latest statement that the U.S.A. will go on fighting in South-East Asia until the surrender or destruction of its enemy, no matter what its critics may say. And who are its enemy? Vietnamese men, women and children who must have been only vaguely aware of a country called the United States until it attacked them with every evident intention of wholesale slaughter. They have been fighting back as best they can and from this fight has emerged one of the most important lessons of modern history; they have shown what a small nation with faith and courage can do against immeasurably superior arms. Considering the absurd disparity in military strength, no country in the Second World War did half as well against Nazi aggression.

Washington's propaganda machine goes on claiming that the Americans are in Vietnam to save its people from Communist tyranny. Even the current mass uprising in South Vietnam against the Americans and their local puppet has not stopped this ludicrous propaganda. After the USIS library at Hue was burnt and sacked Lodge said he was sure that this "distressing act" did not represent the views of the Vietnamese people; yet American officials themselves confirmed that even the South Vietnamese police had watched the act without trying to intervene. The Americans are no longer aiding one side in Vietnam in its fight against another; they are engaged in a fight against the Vietnamese people as a whole. Not even many people in the U.S.A. now believe that Ky and his men, whom the Americans are pledged to support, represent any significant section of the Vietnamese people. Apart from the Ky clique, the only beneficiaries of the American presence in South Vietnam seem to be the local tarts for whom 140,000 cans of hairspray are reported to have been despatched as part of U.S. military supplies. The quantity does suggest a formidable number of potential users and, to that extent, the Americans have perhaps had some success in introducing their way of life in a backward Asian country.

But South Vietnamese prostitutes will not win the war for the Americans. The vast majority of men and women have refused to be corrupted and they think no sacrifice too great for attaining their objective. What the U.S.A. can now do is not easy to see. It is idle to expect a change of heart or even tactical reversal, which cannot but involve a tremendous loss of face. At the same time, disapproval of Johnson's policy is steadily growing within the country and will continue to grow as American losses go on mounting. The Pentagon may be tempted to seek a nuclear

solution, but the State Department surely realizes that even the complete destruction of Vietnamese cities will not put an end to the struggle in South-East Asia. For the time being, the choice will probably be further conventional escalation; circulation of stories about massing of North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia may be in preparation of such a course.

The implications are grave for Asia as a whole. Individual or public protests may make little difference in the immediate context, but concerted opposition by Asian countries to American Policy in Vietnam is the least that these countries could do to affirm their faith in human values. To associate this task with political doctrines is only to evade the fundamental human issue and find an excuse for opportunistic connivance of aggression. With due deference to Mrs Gandhi, who quite properly claims to have known her father's views better than others, it must be said that Indian reaction would perhaps have been a little less opportunistic if Nehru had been alive. But the post-Nehru pragmatists do not even dare to open their mouths. And what has this pragmatism done to safeguard even the purely nationalistic interests of this country? Not only the Americans but even the Russians have lately made it clear that India will not be able for long to get away with the idea that there is nothing to be discussed or settled about Kashmir. Perhaps New Delhi would rather ensure foreign aid by compromising on Kashmir than displease the Americans by saying anything about the most important issue in the world today.

Act Of Sanity

When the Tashkent Declaration is threatening to go the way of all previous agreements between India and Pakistan, the Government of India's decision to lift unilaterally the ban on Indo-Pakistan trade is a departure, provided the aim is not merely to score a point over Pakistan. It will be a useless exercise to discuss who is to blame for the steady choking up of the possibilities opened at Tashkent, for the case for and against either country may be equally voluminous. If the utterances of some of the Pakistani leaders have not been in keeping with the Tashkent spirit, the speeches of some of our leaders have not been exactly helpful. In fact, in both countries the diffident voice of sanity has been drowned in the raucous cry of dissent, and the two Governments seem to be equally resigned to the eventual decay of the accord. It is curious that opposition to the agreement recognises no ideological barrier, and if some have read in it too much of Soviet influence others find in any attempt to implement it a sign of American pressure.

In a pre-election year much more will naturally be heard against the agreement, and whatever little is left of the will to abide by the Declaration may be swept away by the flood of demagogy to be released in a few months. However, predilection of leaders and exigence of politics can only ignore but never deny that a state of suspended hostility helps neither country. The one-week block closure of jute mills in West Bengal could have been avoided if time was not lost in restoring trade between the two. The closure will bring relief to the mill-owners but not to the lakhs of jute workers who have lost half-week's pay. Even now it is not certain that trade will be resumed, for India's unilateral decision will remain an empty gesture if Pakistan does not respond. Yet Pakistan cannot deny that the suspension has hurt the people there also, as is evident from the growing demand in East Pakistan for unreserved implementation of the Tashkent Declaration and especially the restoration of trade between the two Bengals. Among the worst sufferers of the current food scarcity and high prices in East Pakistan are said to be six lakhs of 'bidi' workers who have been thrown out of employment by the shrinkage of export.

Resumption of trade will be a good beginning of a reversal of a tragic trend; but by itself it cannot end the process. Restoration of communication is another direction in which action has to be taken. Apart from the general inconvenience caused by the ban on movement between the two countries, thousands of people on both sides of the border are faced with unemployment because of the suspension of steamer service through East Pakistan. Some probings have been made periodically by both countries, but there has been no progress so far. Similarly, talks of a meeting between the heads of the two Governments have not yet shown any result, though they are on record, willing to meet to save the Declaration. In the murky atmosphere of politics leaders of both countries appear to forget that for all their differences, their peoples remain united in suffering, if not in joy. The drought that has hit India has not spared Pakistan, and the recent food agitation in West Bengal has an echo in East Pakistan today. The two countries have more ties than politics can ever sever; by refusing to recognise this the leaders are only aggravating the miseries of the people and, in the process, adding to their own problems.

PL 480 Rupees

Mr T. T. Krishnamachari has always had the reputation of being too clever, if not by half, at least by one-quarter. His intervention at the Bombay A.I.C.C. session in support of the Indo-American Foundation was a virtuoso performance. Lady Byron, so the gossip goes, could never really determine whether her husband was or was not an actor. Given what he said at Bombay, it is similarly difficult to conclude whether TTK supports or does not support the Foundation idea.

The U. S. embassy has vigorously contested the former Finance Minister's statement about a gap of Rs 41 crores in the accounting of American expenditure out of the PL 480 funds

the several days' silence, the Minister of Finance has come out with a namby-pamby statement which skirts round TTK's assertion, but can still be interpreted as an apologia on behalf of the Americans. It is necessary that the wobbliness in the PL 480 transactions is straightened out; the Government has no business to play hocus with a matter which affects vitally the longterm interests of the nation.

At least one-fifth of the PL 480 funds does not even represent any savings of foreign exchange. This portion of the funds is utilised by the U.S. Embassy to meet its local expenditure, including expenditure on construction, the activities of the U.S. aid—one can legitimately assume—its operations of the C.I.A. The PL 480 rupees are also sold by the Embassy to American tourists in the country against dollars, and for subsidising the activities of American industrial enterprises in India. In each of these instances, in case the PL 480 funds were not available, there would have been an inflow of dollars equal to the amount of these rupee transactions. For this one-fifth of the total, therefore, the U.S. aid programme is no aid at all, but a purely commercial deal, in which we pay for the imports with actual foreign exchange.

Now the Americans are demanding their pound of flesh for the other four-fifths." There is more than meets the eye in the apparently deceptive American proposal in regard to the Foundation. A sum of Rs 150 crores out of the PL 480 account will have to be invested in Government of India securities. If we assume a return on the face value of the order of 5 per cent, this will yield the Americans a perpetual stream of Rs. 7.5 crores, which they would now like to use to mould our education in their image. The so-called investment in Government securities will be a travesty, as the PL 480 funds do not represent any genuine savings in the country; the investment will merely signify a rupee transfer from a blocked cash balance account to another. But, as for this hoax, the Americans are demanding that, *for perpetuity*, we hand them over a certain sum every year. What is even more remarkable is that the proposal does not make any reference at all to the issue of liquidating the original amount of the 'investment'. The obvious implication is that, even at the end of one hundred years, the U.S. Government, in addition to continuing to receive the annuity flow, will still retain control over the principal of the PL 480 funds, either directly or by proxy.

This is worse than berserk economics; this is knavery of a monstrous order. But for the controversy raised by the proposal for the educational Foundation, many of the murkier facts about the PL 480 agreements would never have been revealed. It could be ignorance, or it could be something else, but the Ministers and the civil servants who have negotiated these agreements have arranged to bond away the nation's sovereignty. And yet, this can hardly be the end of the matter. A nation ceases to be sovereign only when its people decide to throw in the sponge, and it is still open to Parliament to abrogate some of the arrangements which the Americans have bulldozed our timid Government into signing.

Peace In West Bengal

For more than a decade, the West Bengal Government has been spending an average of over Rs 5 crores on relief work every year. People in acute distress are perhaps the least knowledgeable about who benefits from this expenditure. A substantial portion of the money is presumably meant for test relief operations, whose outcome however is hardly visible in the villages. Expenditure this year promises to be much larger. Whether this has anything to do with the next elections we do not know, but it is common knowledge that the Panchayati Raj bosses at district, anchal and village levels, through whom large sums of money are meant to be disbursed, can be extremely useful for election purposes. The State Government's funds, however, are not unlimited and, for some obscure reason, the provision for relief in this year's budget was kept deliberately low; Mr P. C. Sen has already urged the Centre to share the burden. Simultaneously, the authorities have arranged for a novel means of relieving the people's distress. Members of the U.S. Peace Corps, conducted by senior officials of the State Government, have been touring the districts. The State Government has organized their tour in the hope that on the basis of their findings the U.S. Government will send a hundred Peace Corps volunteers to tone up the State's agricultural operations. The West Bengal Government would only have to arrange their accommodation, which after all could be easily provided out of relief or some other funds. The benefits would of course be immense; not only would food grow faster and in greater quantity but there would be built-in sources of peace in the countryside. The Government and the Congress Party need no longer worry about further disturbances over scarcity; incitement to violent agitation would surely be counteracted by the precept and example of peaceful construction. And, most suitably, in a pre-election year. To think that we made all this fuss about the Indo-American Foundation, as if infiltration was not already complete.

Pay Anomalies

A correspondent writes:

What is professed is not practised. That sums up in a way the doings of Congress administrators during the last 18 years. Austerity or economy, it is proclaimed, is to be practised by all. But not, for instance, the IAS officers in West Bengal. We have already commented in these columns about how 26 of them, promoted from the West Bengal Civil Service (Executive), got from the Government Rs 4 lakhs, each, on an average, a lump sum of Rs 15,000, by an inscrutable procedure. The present Chief

Secretary, who was the Home Secretary in February 1964, wrote to the Accountant General, West Bengal, (vide letter No. 771-GA/22/61-Part 1), recommending refixing of pay with effect "from the date of promotion in accordance with the provisions of the IAS (Pay) Rules, 164.....The Governor has further been pleased to direct that there will not be any arrear adjustment in respect of the back period prior to the issue of this order".

Curiously enough, the stipulation withdrawn in a subsequent letter No. 1661-GAC dated the November 25, 1965 by the same officer who said that the arrears of pay should be paid and that the previous stipulation by the Governor is withdrawn.

This was done in concurrence with the Finance Department which had turned down during February 1964 and November 25 a large number of applications from assistants for arrear pay after fixation of their salaries in the next higher grade. Not only that. On the grounds of emergency, the circular of the Finance Department stating that no allowance should be given to the officers who turn up at Dum Dum to receive foreign VIPs has not yet been withdrawn.

The IAS tale does not end here. Some important members of the cadre, it is stated, have been persistently working to deprive members of the Higher Judicial Service of the benefits they are entitled to, despite the State Government's acceptance of the principle as far back as 1949 that there would be parity of service conditions between the members of the IAS and the HJS. With the upward revision of the senior time-scale of the IAS from April 1960, it was expected that the same benefit would also be extended to the West Bengal Higher Judicial Judicial Service. But high-ups in the Finance and the Home Department have been thwarting on one plea or another the expectations of the HJS.

Against the principle of parity, the first point made by the IAS officers is that members of the HJS once got a higher initial start in the scale. The second is that in the HJS there are five officers who draw Rs 2,250 a month.

On behalf of the HJS, it is pointed out that once the parity of service conditions with the IAS has been accepted, it should get the upward revised pay scale of Rs 1,800—2,000 given to the IAS selection grade. About the five posts at Rs 2,500 each, the argument is that there are many Commissioners in the IAS whose salary has been raised to Rs 2,750.

Lastly, the district magistrates, it is stated, have been given a special pay of Rs 200 a month while the heads of the judicial administration in the districts have been denied that privilege. The Law Commission, it is pointed out, has strongly advocated same pay-scales for district magistrates and district judges. The latest conference of Chief Justices has also recommended parity in service conditions between the IAS and the higher judicial service.

After the Judicial Minister, M. I. D. Jalan, had argued the case in one of the Cabinet meetings and had almost convinced his colleagues of the need for parity, the meeting decided suddenly, on the pleading of a top IAS officer, to appoint a sub-committee of three Ministers—the Judicial Minister, the Finance Minister and the Education Minister—to probe into the matter. But no decision has been reached by the sub-committee which has met only once or twice after its formation six months ago.

While the wrangling goes on in these circles for parity and higher pay, the common clerk is urged to think of the nation, and not of his ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed family.

Delhi Letter

The Odd Men Out

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

WHAT calls itself the Congress Left is a pathetic quantity in Indian politics. For all the strident speeches and shrill voices, it has failed to ginger up the Congress, but that has not dissolved the group's faith in its own manifest destiny, self-righteousness and capacity for self-congratulation. Last week, however, when Mr K. D. Malaviya found himself trounced in the contest for the Congress Central Election Committee, the world seemed to come to an end for the neurotic fringe that has been trying to work itself up over the ascent of Reaction in the Congress. The so-called Congress Left and the crypto-Congress daily from the Capital which thinks it is running the Government by proxy through its gratuitous advice to the Prime Minister every morning, tried to cover their discomfiture by denouncing Reaction once again.

The Bombay AICC has more significance than what the [illegible] reasoning of the self-righteous patriots would vest in it. The vulgar ostentation that marked the session did perhaps reflect the Congress Party's total dependence on black money for winning the next election. What really took a bad buffeting at Bombay was not the pathetic Congress Left but the stature of the Prime Minister and the Congress President himself.

A strong Congress President can not fill the vacuum that surrounds a weak Prime Minister. But what happens when the Congress President is not longer strong? The Bombay session raised this question in a blurred form. The official leadership tried to head off a clash with the hostile following and was not so much as seek an endorsement of the Government's policies. Allotment of time for non-official resolutions was made to look a [illegible]

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gesture on the part of the leadership. But piecing together the odd bits of information about what took place at the Working Committee meeting and the lobbies, one cannot but discern the new pattern of things. For instance, there were four or five resolutions on the fertilizer policy but Mr C. Subramaniam managed to keep other resolutions out and have the innocuous one on fertilizer prices accepted for discussion. Mr Asoka Mehta, as in Jaipur, produced a draft and the withering squall of criticism forced him to take it back and the one officially moved at the session was the product of the entire Working Committee and Mr Mehta was not even remotely associated with it. At the Working Committee meeting, when there was a furore over the Mehta draft, Mr Biju Patnaik was heard asking: "What about selling us out to the United States?" When the resolution on incentives to farmers had to be defended, Mr Krishna Menon made a half-hearted speech while Mr Patil made a spirited defence advancing arguments which the Congress would not have countenanced a few years ago.

Melodramatic

The Prime Minister's performance was melodramatic, in the least. It was "I..I.." all the time. If they did not have faith in her policies, she would go. After all she was the late Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter and she knew her father's policies better. And those who were denigrating her father when he was alive were now accusing her of deviation. But nowhere did she speak for her Government. The Congressmen were not questioning her bona fides but their criticism was about the Government's policies.

There was no attempt to reply to the specific points of criticism but there was plenty of denunciation of the critics. There was no attempt at submitting the controversial policy decisions for party endorsement. The Left looked licked and fumed at the Right because the Right wrested the initiative and attacked the Government's policies. The self-appointed conscience keepers of the Prime Minister were nowhere in the picture. Mr Kamaraj could not put up a defence for the Prime Minister because Mrs Indira Gandhi seems to have begun believing that she has already reached the stage of practical politics and as an election mascot she is indispensable to the Congress and therefore to the country.

It is still not known why Mr T. T. Krishnamachari was brought in to make that revelation about the U. S. Government's handling of the rupees in India. If what he said is true, why had no spokesman of the Government used this as an argument in defence of the Foundation in the past? Or was it that only Mr Krishnamachari knew it as the Finance Minister when these big withdrawals took place? And in New Delhi, the official spokesman almost contradicted what the former Finance Minister said and the U. S. Embassy had already joined issue with him. If a Minister had said it, it would have led to a strong diplomatic protest. But when a former Minister said it, the U.S. Embassy looked helpless. On the whole it looked a clumsy attempt at defending the Foundation, any way.

Returning to the Prime Minister, is her position so strong in the party that she could afford to adopt the posture she did at Bombay? The Central Election Committee contest revealed a shifting alignment of group forces. The Prime Minister's main candidate was Mr D. P. Mishra, who was her lieutenant in the Prime Minister's contest. The strong man from Madhya Pradesh, who incidentally has an unsavoury RSS past, had to be elected at any cost for the Prime Minister's own factional ends. Mr Sanjiva Reddy, of course, because he was another strongman, from the South. But why did she stake her prestige on Mr Sadiq who represents but a ghost Congress in Kashmir? Mr Sadiq's following outside his State is nil and if the leadership wanted his counsel in nominating candidates from his State, he could have been co-opted to the Committee, just as Mr Nanda is going to be a "special invitee" to its meetings. Mr Kamaraj wanted Mr Malaviya as a counterweight to Mr C. B. Gupta but the Prime Minister did not seem to like Mr Malaviya. Dr Ram Subhag Singh was a nominee of the Patil group and he won out. The understanding reached in the course of the contest for the Congress Parliamentary Party's executive was extended to the Bombay contest. The Prime Minister's hold on the committee is very weak. Until the 1967 election, there will be minor skirmishes but after the elections, Mr Morarji Desai is going to be a strong contender for power. The Malaviya-led Left which is now denouncing the Right reaction in the Congress had no qualms about aligning itself with Mr Morarji Desai in 1964 against Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri. No one would be surprised if the group finds itself backing Mr Morarji Desai again.

The Atulya Ghosh-Sanjiva Reddy-Patil compact has emerged a strong force in the place of the defunct Syndicate. Mr Kamaraj would have to make up with it to be of any consequence at the Centre. The Prime Minister would have to make up with it to survive in office. It would not do Mrs Indira Gandhi any good to continue to pretend that she is above factions. She was chosen for office on the combined strength of a number of factions and she is a factional leader herself. Her mass image might be sound but her party image is hardly redeeming. It might, on the other hand, do Mr Kamaraj a little good to perpetuate the myth that he is above factions, but this cannot be perpetuated for long. I remember Mr Kamaraj telling us one evening when informed that Mr C. B. Gupta was going to be a candidate for the CEC, "You might be afraid of C. B. Gupta. But I know what he is. I am not afraid of him". The official leadership should have had the grace to adopt him as an official candidate because in any case he was going to win on his own strength. But under-

neath the hostility to Mr Gupta was ill-concealed factional vindictiveness.

* *

Mr Nanda has been talking of Pakistani help for the Mizo uprising but the Cabinet Secretary, Mr Dharma Vira, who briefed newsmen on his return from Assam, said he did not have information to support what Mr Nanda had said. The Government seems to be anxious to play Pakistan's role, if any, down. There is credibility to the theory that Pakistan has assured India that it would not do anything to help the Mizos and whatever help was given was in the pre-Tashkent days. It would not certainly add to Pakistan's joys to have one more border problem with the Mizos carrying out raids on Pakistani territory. With the Nagas it is different because Pakistan has no border with Nagaland. Moreover, the Mizo trouble spot is very close to the Chittagong region and any flare-up would have its impact on Pakistan's economy. But it was good to hear Mr Dharma Vira use the word "uprising" (first time an official spokesman is doing it!)

The Mizos were disussed by the Congress Working Committee too. The non-official resolution on infiltrators was considered by the committee and there was strong criticism of Mr Chaliha's handling of the Mizo area. It involved questions of border security and it was suggested that the Centre should take over border security in the Mizo Hills. Mr Chaliha was agreeable to it but Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was not. Then someone pointed out that border security was a matter for the Government to decide and not for the Congress Working Committee.

By quietly instructing its agencies throughout the country to help any woman who seeks either the knowledge or devices of birth control, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has made it possible for the first time for federal funds to give help to those who need it most—unmarried women with a penchant for pregnancy.

The Economist

Calcutta Diary

A. M.

YESTERDAY'S cliches become today's heresies. But it does also often happen the other way round. The United States has its Daughters of the American Revolution; we have our pensioned-off old men, who, although non-unionised, congregate regularly at the Dhakuria Lakes in the evenings. In either instance, the group stands for the extremes of chauvinism and conservatism. I therefore had to reel with disbelief as I eavesdropped into the parleys of one such congregation of old gentlemen one evening last week. Our seniors were in the process of arriving at a consensus. Enough is enough, they agreed, and the time has come to settle the dispute with China; one cannot, after all, fight on all fronts. What is wrong, they pontificated, in trading that bit of Aksai Chin over which the Chinese have built their road against property of equal size somewhere else along the border?

Coming as it did from these eminences—almost all retired Government servants, none of whom, I am sure, has ever deviated from voting for the Congress in the elections—this was a breathtaking statement, and indicates which way even solidly respectable bourgeois attitudes are shifting. It must be a sad day for Mr Nanda and the professional and the demi-professional China-baiters, for clearly the bogey is dying out. I find the mood of the old gentlemen particularly revealing since even China's third explosion of the nuclear bomb has failed to arouse afresh the jingo in them.

What has gone sour? I think by and large the folly of the Government lay in overdoing the thing. As a nation, we are given to melodrama. By pitching our case against the Chinese at a deliberately grotesque level, we have made the case itself look ridiculous, even to ourselves. Just as there can be no such thing as a Permanent Emergency, similarly there can be no Perennial Imminent Threat. In my college days, I used to read in the economic text-books about two types of dynamics: the first consisted of the *occurrence* of an *unexpected* change, while the second was represented by the *non-occurrence* of an *expected* change. After three and a half years' of waiting, it is the non-occurrence of a massive Chinese invasion which is instrumental for the present phase of growing disenchantment with the Government's rigid policy. There is of course also the accumulation of discontent with the economic hardships which have been abuilding since early 1963.

* *

I will admit that, even for my bunch of old gentlemen who caucused at the Lakes, the motives for favouring a settlement with China are mixed: some of them certainly nurse a lurking hope that, once Akasi Chin is out of the way, China would look the other way if we try once more to give Pakistan a bloody nose. Since the Americans won't help us to subdue the Pakistanis, let us try another tack and re-open the dialogue with the Chinese; may be they might, even as late as now, be somewhat more responsive....

This may be—and, I think, is—a dangerous argument, a self-deluding argument, but at least it indicates that one specific plea which Government apologists used to proffer in private till recently against coming to a deal with China—namely, that the general public would react violently to the idea—may not any longer hold good. If the Government still refuses to make an overture to the Chinese, the reasons, as one retired gentleman was expostulating during that Lake-side concensus session, is the 'steel rope' of American aid. At least for the sake of record, the arch enemy of the United States we have to adopt also as our equal enemy. Our Government will be in a spot only in the event of the U.S. administration

succeeds in working out a *detente* with China. From this point of view, therefore, the interests of the Saigon dandy, Air Marshal Ky, and of New Delhi, are completely identical. (No wonder it breaks the heart of Mrs Gandhi's Government to say an unkind word about Marshal Ky too.)

• •

The Government's unwillingness to re-open discussions with China I thus attribute to its inability to do so; it is no use drawing blinkers over one's eyes, our external sovereignty has been considerably bartered away in course of the last one year. The attitude of groups such as the Swatantra Party and the Praja-Socialist Party is also equally understandable. The PSP, for example, being without a profession, had been—during Nehru's and Krishna Menon's majestic spell—long in quest of an external enemy, so that it would be enabled to criticise the Government's foreign policy. Even before 1959, it was anxious to create an enemy out of China, and the outbreak of armed clash in 1962 was a great vindication of its social-democratic proclivities. What however baffles me is the attitude of some others who style themselves as 'progressive' as well as 'socialist', but whose phobia for China almost borders on the hysteric. Recently I was reading an article in a well-known 'progressive' Bengali journal where the writer, in a painstaking listing of Chinese sins, referred with indignation to the ejectment of Lamas from Tibet. The writer happens to be a refugee from East Pakistan, and therefore claims to have first-hand acquaintance with the kind of persecution practised by authoritarian regimes which forces people to give up their very dear ancestral homes and turn them into refugees. This commisseration with the fate of the Lamas is a new line for 'socialists'; it gives the Lamas a *carte blanche*, and ignores totally their retrograde role in the social framework of Tibet. Roughly a quarter of Cuba's population as it was in January, 1959 are now refugees in the United States. Is that conclusive evidence of the beastliness of Fidel Castro's regime? What does then one do with all those thousands of emigres from East Europe, each of whom had to leave behind his or her hearth and home? And what about those White Russians who play the banjo or the violin in Paris restaurants or run gold at Macao or Hongkong? It takes some believing, but given the writer's argument, it is only to be expected that soon Kolchak and Denikin too would be rehabilitated as comrades.

• •

I myself am as much of a refugee from East Pakistan as the writer of the Lama-loving article, and am aware of the feeling of insecurity which has led to large-scale exodus, in successive waves, of Hindu middle class elements from there ever since 1947. But it is necessary that the other side of the story is not altogether blocked out. The refugees can lament that the sins of their fathers are now being visited upon them, but the fact remains that, in the pre-partition Bengali social order, the Hindu middle class represented exploitation of the most revolting type. Jinnah or no Jinnah, the frenzy of direct action or no such frenzy, I still doubt whether the division of the country would have come about without one hundred and fifty years' of squeezing of the Muslim peasantry by the Hindu landed gentry. True, during the decades of the freedom struggle in this century, the same gentry have occasionally thrown up young men and women who were able to declass themselves intellectually and who had joined progressive social causes, but that does not negate the reactionary character of the class itself. If today I identify myself with, and fight for, the cause of my co-refugees, it is because of their current social alignment, not because of their past ancestry. I would in fact ascribe much of their present woe to precisely this ancestry, which made them devoid of any kind of technological skill and totally dependent on the fruits of exploitation of other people's toil on land.

• •

Let me pass on a story about a progressive *boxwallah*. He is a leading executive with a British firm in a consumer product line, and was attending a management course in Cochin last January. The participants at the course went out on a boat party one afternoon. Somebody had a transistor radio, and a special news bulletin announced Indira Gandhi's victory over Morarji Desai in the election for the leadership of the Congress Parliamentary Party. Our progressive executive was beside himself with joy. He wiggled a twist, and broke out into the *Internationale*. The Arabian Sea was enthralled.

CORRECTIONS

In line no. 14, Col. 2, Page 6 of *Now* dated May 27 delete 'not'.

Insert 'not' after 'has' in line no. 20, Col. 2, Page 9 (May 27).

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On Revolution

B. Roy

NIRAD C. Chaudhuri sees revolution (*Now*, May 6 and 13) in terms of dams and reservoirs, but one wonders if he would recognize the reservoir in the undammed, rushing river. His argument against the possibility of revolution in India rests on two observations: there is no dam; there is no reservoir. But is there a river?

One rainy fall day in 1789, mobs of starving, bedraggled women left their Paris homes in search of food. Gathering angrily in the streets, they determined to march to Versailles, where lived the king, and demand bread. The next day, they returned to Paris, acclaiming the promises of Louis XVI, yet carrying him with them as a virtual hostage. Were these screaming, dirty, hungry women the stuff of which the great French Revolution was made?

In Petrograd, 1905, a rag-tag band of workers, carrying banners inscribed with religious invocations, led by the priest Gapon, marched to the Winter Palace to present a petition begging the Czar, "Little Father", to relieve their pitiful distress. So tradition-dulled were these people that they could no more imagine the Czar to be indifferent to their poverty than they could articulate the causes of their misery, or the necessity of revolution to remedy it. After refusing to receive them, the Czar ordered his guard to fire into the procession, massacring men, women and children. Could the October Revolution twelve years later have sprung from such dark and superstitious roots?

In Bengal in 1966, bands of teenagers roamed, burning trains, stoning schools. Furious mobs gutted post offices, killed policemen. Is Mr Chaudhuri so certain that the spark of revolution cannot be contained in these coals of angry vandalism?

The more serious of Mr Chaudhuri's contentions is that concerning the "genetic factor." It is serious because it bears an implication of immutability. It is also difficult to discuss, because the character of man is, to most people, still outside the realm of science, definable only in loosely subjective terms.

Mr Chaudhuri is right to insist that the human material of a land is a critical determinant of revolutionary potential. In some countries, it has appeared that all the conditions for revolution existed, and yet there was no revolution. But to apply the term "genetic" to this factor is as dangerously misleading as it is intellectually haphazard.

In the course of its separate history, a land develops its own distinctive cooking, its particular dress, its style of architecture, its literature, music, art, the sum of what is called culture. No distinct culture is unique, for the essentials of man's needs are everywhere similar, and his culture is but the response to those needs; moreover, throughout history there has been much sharing of influences. Yet few people would dispute that differences of history and environment have produced differing cultures. In the same way, men's character has come to vary from place to place. Psychology teaches that character is formed by the earliest experiences of childhood. Those influences are social and historical. From the early biological training of an infant to its later education, from family life to social norms, the milieu of the growing child has been moulded by the history of the land, and the conditions of the times in which he lives.

Anaemia

"National" character is therefore as definable as culture, but the influences which have formed it are incredibly complex, and the resulting character is correspondingly multi-faced. Mr Chaudhuri is quite right in observing the anaemia of Indians. There is a strong streak of passivity, compounded, moreover, with a debilitating impulse to heroworship, to seek gods in other men. The man who bows down before a "divine" leader is slow to grasp history by the ruff and to mould it. Indians dislike disciplined organization; they are not Germans. They do not cling stubbornly to a cause: they are not Vietnamese. Indian workers do not seek the clear nitty-gritty of reality; they are not Russians. Indian peasants do not bend to a central authority in their daily work; they are not Chinese. Who could know India and yet debate the reality of these traits?

But who also would deny that Indians are quite capable of creating storms? Indians may not be wont to formulate their demands in clear political terms, and then fight concertedly to achieve them. But people who are hungry can take rice forcibly from granaries. They may starve for a century before they do so, but they have proven that they can do it. The same anaemic man, of Mr Chaudhuri's image, may be one of a mob who frees a "smuggler" from police half an hour later. The slum-dweller who passively accepts his misery is at times able to stone police and burn trains spiritedly.

That is not to say that acts of destruction are necessarily revolutionary. The storming of the Bastille is distinguished from the gutting of the Behala Post Office by the direction of the march of events. Had it not culminated in the French Revolution, the razing of the Bastille would have appeared to us as an act of vandalism paralleling those we have recently seen in West Bengal.

If the possibilities of revolution in India are to be analyzed, we must seek, not the signs of passivity in people, but the signs of rebellion, because the two co-exist. Rebellion consists of defiance of authority; there are people whose characters prohibit such defiance. But this is not true of most of the Indians, who show an encouraging disrespect of authority and its institutions. Their weaknesses may shape the revolution, colouring it and determining its peculiarities. But other traits are of essential concern in deciding whether or not revolution will take place.

Modern Indian history is spotted with rebellions which should not be deluded. The fact that the major one, the revolt of 1857, centred in the military is of prime importance, for the disaffection of the armed forces is one of the requisites of successful revolution. The possibility of martial revolt was confirmed by the mutiny of 1946. The Indian people as a whole proved their potential for rebellion in 1942, when all the forces of leadership tried to temper their wrath. Yet the behaviour of the masses would, in other circumstances, have been revolutionary; of just such acts in a particular context do revolutions consist.

Indians do have the capacity, the spirit to rebel. They may be downcast and dispirited for decades, but they are also able to nurture the seed of revolt.

What determines when, and whether, the seed will mature into a tree? We now come to Mr Chaudhuri's second contention: that there is no revolutionary class in India. By revolutionary class he means one which is "rising in social and economic importance, but is not getting its full share of political power." It is the dam, he implies, which transforms the latent energy of the reservoir into electric power.

Mr Chaudhuri describes the role of the bourgeoisie in the "archetypal" French Revolution; he also calls the Russian Revolution the "product of the rise of the new Russian middle-class intelligentsia." He then searches in India for a corresponding class and finds none. The middle class, he says, having benefited enough from independence to become a "have" class, is therefore, conservative rather than revolutionary. *

The "middle class" is actually a conglomerate of capitalists, shopkeepers, artisans, traders, professionals, bureaucrats. Those who have enriched themselves in recent years are mostly industrialists and high-ranking government officers. It is the rest, the middle class "have-nots", the petit-bourgeoisie, whose lack of revolutionary *elan* Mr Chaudhuri deplores.

Polarization

The last time when the petit-bourgeoisie showed revolutionary initiative was 1789. Since then, the history of classes has been one of polarization, with the "have-not" middle classes increasingly caught between the major urban classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But the class as a whole is too incohesive, too depleted, too mortally frightened of the proletarian abyss below, and too aspiring of the bourgeois haven above to do more than follow the lead of another class. Ordinarily, it follows the bourgeoisie, but in a revolutionary time, when the accustomed structure of society is collapsing, when the bourgeoisie are fumbling their power and the lower classes are in determined motion, petit-bourgeois moths have a way of seeking the light. In Russia, they first sabotaged the revolutionary government, then supported it with an eye cocked hopefully on the white forces, and finally gave it their unenthusiastic allegiance only when all hope of restoration had passed.

The middle classes do indeed display the character of the people: in India, they too are indecisive, given to worship of outsiders, craving of direction from above, yet unwilling to subject themselves to discipline. Mr Chaudhuri rightly detects a lack of revolutionary *elan* among them. But when he concludes that the last hope of revolution in India resides in this debilitated middle class, he deceives himself.

Revolutions are rare and bloody events. They happen only when a society has reached an otherwise unbridgeable impasse, when a ruling class has exhausted its ability to rule, and some other class has attained relative cohesion enough to reorganize society. The first condition is primary, for no revolution has ever triumphed over a powerful ruling class. In France, Louis XVI was reduced to flight, and could not even effect his personal escape. In Russia, the Czar had helplessly watched his country's decline into famine and paralysis, had exhausted the resources of the land in wars, and had nurtured the new class which ultimately destroyed him, by lending the State to the develpoment of industry, in a vain attempt to match the Western Technology of war. In China, the Kuomintang Government literally collapsed, as its pillars deserted to the other side and its posts defected abroad with whatever wealth they could steal.

From both the Russian and the Chinese revolutions it is also possible to see that the new class need not enter the scene full grown. Revolutions are not "made" by classes any more than they are "made" by parties: they are the organic result of a mighty process of simultaneous decay and growth. They have taken place in countries where social relations were so undeveloped that classes could not truly be said to exist, where even the idea of ideology was a mockery. Revolutions occur when life becomes intolerably disorganized, when the old regime suffers paralysis and there is no longer any visible power to which the people can turn. The new class becomes important after the start of the revolution: its task is to prevent events from reversing direction, later to gather from the ruins the elements of a new society, and then to organize the construction of that society. How much strength is needed, how developed and definable the revolutionary class must be, is determined primarily by the forces of counter-revolution, and the disorganization of essential institutions.

In Russia, it was not the rising middle class intelligentsia which guided the revolution to victory. The middle classes played a positive role only insofar as individual leaders of the Bolshevik Party had been born in middle class homes. The true middle classes, the shopkeepers and intellectuals and professionals, in the main opposed the revolution, although not so vehemently as to call on their heads its wrath. Their ideas were largely unknown to the workers and peasants whose fury toppled governments. Not even the Bolshevik Party "made" the revolution. When the revolution began, the leadership was in exile, the party's following minute. When Le-

nin returned to Russia in April, a liberal bourgeois Government sat in Petrograd, and the Bolsheviks were busily preaching that the revolution had reached its zenith. Lenin set out to prepare his party and the country for the continuation of the revolution, but even on the eve of October leading Bolsheviks, such as Zinoviev and Kamenev, opposed insurrection and believed that a worker-peasant revolt had no future. From June to October, Lenin himself was in hiding, most of the time outside Russia; the support which his party gained among the masses was largely confined to Petrograd and a few other large cities. The most positive role which the Bolsheviks can be said to have played in this period was to discourage precipitate insurrection in Petrograd, when the rest of the country was not yet prepared to follow suit.

Elemental

The Russian Revolution was an elemental upheaval. It is absurd to believe that the absence before its beginning of any small group of men could have prevented its occurrence. But once it had begun, the Bolsheviks were able to play a role, through the Soviets, in organizing resistance to counter-revolution. During the civil war, the Bolshevik Party virtually decimated itself: the mass of the devoted pre-revolutionary cadres were killed. Similarly, the workers, the "new" class who formed the social basis for the revolution, no longer existed as a class. From three million their number had been halved; many of the remaining half were idled by the halting of industry. What emerged after the civil war could not have been foreseen; the new class and the new leadership bore little resemblance to anything pre-revolutionary. Revolution means change, but the revolutionary forces had been transformed as well as the old society.

The emphasis in India on the lack of leadership is misplaced: leadership and parties do not "make" revolutions. What will determine whether India has a revolution is not ideology or parties or leadership, but the confluence of powerful social forces. The pertinent questions are not whether there is ideology, or what traits are carried in Indian genes, but rather: Will the bourgeoisie become so impotent that they can no longer perform essential tasks, such as assuring food to the people? Will crisis become so pervasive that soldiers and policemen will waver in their repressive duties? Will peasants turn away from the Congress and look with at least passive sympathy on protests? Will the people of the big cities follow the path of Calcutta in voicing militant demands?

When once a revolutionary process has begun, the forms and sources of organization which emerge become important. Revolution is a time of dramatic, sometimes unimaginable, change. In India, part of that change will be the forging of a new "leadership", although that leadership will undoubtedly be of an Indian character. Leadership is a crystallization from the masses; there is no more potent catalyst than necessity. How quickly organization must coalesce, how determinedly it must fight, we have said, depends largely on the resistance of the old regime. But here, all those weaknesses of the Indian character favour revolution, for the doomed rulers are also Indians. Congressmen, too, are hesitant, indecisive, disorganized; they neither command nor offer unwavering loyalty to their cause. How magnified would all these faults become in a crisis of revolutionary dimension, when all their accustomed smugness would dissolve in famine, war and rebellion! How strong the temptation to save oneself and damn the cause. The Indian revolution will not have to defend itself against the Russian Cossacks, or the French nobility, but against a bourgeoisie in its own image.

In the forces of dissolution can be read the approach of revolution. No less compelling than the winds of a monsoon are the currents which are determining the future of India. They are gathering with implacable power and discernible direction. No people are "given to combating evil in the worldly order with positive reactions and offensive actions" until they are utterly impelled to do so. Indians may move more slowly, less decisively, more tolerantly than most. But move they must.

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Liao Cheng Chih

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S. Nihal Singh in The Statesman

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Democracy In Sikkim—III

LAL BAHADUR BASNET

FOR more than thirteen years now Sikkim has seen the unfettered rule of the Maharajah. Since the Maharajah has never ceased talking of the gradual introduction of democratic institutions in Sikkim, it is time to assess how the administration works vis-à-vis the people.

Food is the most outstanding problem the Sikkim Government faces at the moment. And it has dismally failed to ensure proper and efficient distribution of foodgrains to the people. In Namchi and Geyzing, two of Sikkim's total of four districts, each family, no matter how many members it has, is given a small slip, two inches by one inch, bearing on it "2 Kg", per week. That is the amount of ration a family gets. While not everyone is fortunate enough to come by the slip, the Sikkimese version of a ration card, people who count can have dozens. In these districts only one day in a week is set aside for drawing the rations. There are food committees but the committee members do not know what their function is for the officials and the shopkeepers prefer to run the show without their collaboration. The police, of all people, are entrusted in most districts with the issue of ration tickets. The administration does not realise that the District Development Officers and their staff have had nothing to do for the past few months, and that they could very well be switched over to function, for the time being, as the Rationing Department. A member of the Sikkim Consultative Committee made a suggestion to this effect, but the administration refused to listen to him. The rice received from the Government of India on a fixed monthly quota system does not reach the districts till a month or two later. The food situation need not be as bad as it is but for sheer administrative inefficiency. Things are getting worse daily.

Sikkim has been through two development plans. Its revenue has gone up substantially. This increase makes a very impressive news-item—fully exploited by the Sikkim Durbar—but nobody bothers how it is spent and the Sikkim Durbar manages to get away with it by not publishing the annual budget, another feature unique to Sikkimese democracy. While the expenditure of the ruling family met out of the revenue has multiplied more than a hundred-fold during the last decade, no tangible benefit has reached the peasant, the poorest and the most numerous of Sikkim's 160,000 people.

Sikkim has co-operative credit societies, too. But do they function? At some of these the rate of interest is higher than what most moneylenders charge, the formalities are too long and tedious — often the simple villager is duped into parting with a not insignificant portion of the loan he is yet to receive, by way of filling in forms and when the amount is paid out at long last, a big chunk is deducted right there under some pretext. According to some villagers, a certain official in one of these credit societies added to these deductions the oral item, "Expenses incurred by me while going to Gangtok to collect funds and on the way back". The way most of these bodies function is so disgusting that the people choose to be exploited by the lesser evil, the much-maligned moneylender.

The officials, with rare exceptions, are indifferent to the weal or woe of the people. So long as the officials can contrive to remain in the good books of the Durbar, they can very well afford to flout public opinion.

Estates

A very large part of the territory of Sikkim is the property of monasteries and the ruling family. This property, known as the Monastery Estates and the Private Estates, has a separate administrative system directly under the Sikkim Durbar. The entire income from these two sources goes to the privy purse of the Maharajah and the other members of the ruling house. Strange as it may seem, the officials who manage these two estates are paid out of the revenue of the Sikkim Government. The people in these two estates are no better than serfs and are fully exploited during elections. The area under Private Estates has greatly increased during the last few years, especially with the acquisition of the cardamom-rich areas of Jungu and Dikchu. The poor Lepchas of these areas, despite the Chhogyal's oft-repeated professions of concern and sympathy for these Sikkimese "Adibasis", had either to part with their holdings or resign themselves to the status of serfs. It is hardly necessary to add that the administration of these two estates is far worse than that of the rest of Sikkim.

The Sikkim Durbar rules by means of proclamations and these can be set aside at the sweet will of the ruler. At times he does not even take the trouble to issue an amendment before violating the letter and spirit of a proclamation. In the second article of this series I referred to the unseating of four members of the State Council immediately following the 1958 elections. When the election of these four members was contested by certain persons, the Maharajah of Sikkim issued a proclamation, vide Notification dated 27.12.58 published in the Sikkim Gazette of January, 1959, to this effect: "The election petitions shall be addressed to the Election Tribunal. The decision of the Tribunal shall be final and no appeal shall lie in any court against that decision."

The then Chief Justice of Sikkim, Mr M. P. Asthana, was appointed Presiding Officer. The Tribunal's award unseated all the four and barred three of them from contesting elections for a period of six years. Yet the Sikkim Durbar, without amending the solemn wording of the proclamation, and without any thought for the prestige of the Chief Justice, reduced the period of

non-eligibility to six months in the case of two and to three years in the case of the other.

As is well known, Sikkim has no constitution. How autocratic the regulations of Sikkim can be is shown by the following extract from the Sikkim Subjects Regulation, 1961, as quoted in the November 1961 issue of *Mankind* :

"Subject to the provision of this section, the Government of His Highness may by order deprive any Sikkim subject of his status if the Government are satisfied that a subject : has shown himself by act or speech to be guilty of disaffection or disloyalty towards His Highness, or.....

Power To Make Rules

The Government of His Highness may make and promulgate such rules as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of this Regulation."

The State of Emergency enables the Chhogyal to eliminate all criticism and opposition.

Wrong Picture

The world outside has been given a very wrong picture of the real situation in Sikkim. From time to time journalists representing Indian and foreign papers visit Sikkim. Almost all of these distinguished newsmen are the honoured guests of the Chhogyal and are accorded lavish hospitality. They neither understand the people's language nor care to study their plight, for it would be unbecoming on the part of the Chhogyal's guests to mix with the rabble. Some who move out of the ivory tower and discover certain facts and figures that give a lie to the Chhogyal's story, and, what is worse, are naive enough to say so or publish the facts, forfeit the pleasure of visiting Sikkim on future occasions. This latter tribe is, however, a rarity. The former tribe includes some so-called experts on Sikkim who wield their pens with a flourish in relaying the Chhogyal's ambitions.

Sadder still is the story of the correspondents resident in Sikkim. These journalists have a sword of Damocles hanging over their heads. If any fact, howsoever newsworthy, is unpalatable to the Sikkim Durbar, or to the administration for that matter, no reporter dares to file it. If he does, one fine day he might receive an untimely transfer order from his head office.

The Chhogyal has very often said, in answer to questions put to him that "no Sikkimese citizen is fit to hold the office of the Principal Administrative Officer. So long as we do not have a competent citizen to hold this office, we shall continue to fill this office with a Government of India official on deputation". Besides the P.A.C., the following officers in Sikkim are also on deputation from India, for precisely the same reason : Police Commissioner,

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Recent newspaper reports tend to show that the Chhogyal harbours ambitions to run, or at least share, Sikkim's External Affairs, so long the exclusive concern of the Government of India. How does the Chhogyal imagine he could handle External Affairs when there is, as he knows, such an acute shortage of talented administrators in Sikkim? Or does he imagine he could cover this field, too, with his omnicompetence?

But all hope is not lost. A strong opposition party which believes in the integration of all the communities of Sikkim and in the tenets of democracy is gathering strength. I could do no better than quote the declaration of Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa, Founder-President of the Sikkim National Congress:

"A Sikkim run by proclamations cannot be called a democratic country.....Never before in the history of India and China has Sikkim come within the orbit of both India and China. In such a critical period, therefore, the aspirations of the people of Sikkim must find expression in the formation of responsible government based on a written constitution. Nothing short of this will satisfy the people of Sikkim...."

Sikkim may very well witness the upsurge of democratic forces in the not-too-distant future.

(The first of this series appeared on April 29 and the second on May 20.)

Commentary

Women Politicians Here

OUTSIDER

INDIAN politics has many fetishes, and the most venerated one today, after Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, and Lal Bahadur Shastri—a Trinity which seems to have been suggested by the Christian Trinity of God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Ghost—is the woman Prime Minister. I am afraid even in saying this I am committing blasphemy against the fetish. I shall face the issue squarely. How much respect are our women politicians entitled to?

The very first thing I would say is this: that their sex is a matter of no consideration for me when they are in the Congress Government of today. I admit no obligation to it, for I look upon it as an exploitive oligarchy, or, in plain words, an unqualified evil. The only formula applicable to it is the famous one of Voltaire's—Ecrasez l'infame (Crush the infamous thing).

Long ago, speaking about opposition to the Second Empire in France, Gambetta said:

"We are under the Empire. Let's fight the Empire with the methods of the Empire. It's no use putting on pumps to go into the sewers. Let's put on sewer-cleaner's boots."

Again, even if the present regime were respectable, no parliamentary or journalistic Opposition was under any obligation to temper the wind for its shorn lambs, and all politicians, however hard-boiled or thick-skinned they might be, are by virtue of their office alone, shorn lambs. As that master of parliamentary debate, Arthur Balfour, put it, "To give your adversary the credit for good intentions is to give him an advantage he does not deserve."

Does this aspect of politics change when women come into it? Never. "State-business," declared Halifax, "is a cruel Trade; Good nature is a Bungler in it." Every woman who came into politics in the past recognized this, or at all events were made to do so. Let me give a few names:

Boadicea was whipped and outraged. Agrippina the Younger, mother of Nero, was murdered by the assassins sent by her son, and when they attacked her she cried out in bitter mockery, pointing to her abdomen, "Strike here!" Zenobia was carried off to Rome to adorn the triumphal procession of her conqueror, the Emperor Aurelian, and ended her days in exile. Joan of Arc was burnt on the stake. Sultana Raziyya was dethroned and afterwards murdered. Chand Bibi was slain by a mob in her palace. Rani Lakshmi Bai was killed in battle.

In these days of democracy women are not required to be prepared for all that if they join politics, but they must not squeal if they are not mollycoddled. After coming out of the doll's house of a husband or father, they must not expect to be treated like dolls in the Forum.

This is all the more applicable to the women politicians of India because their position and role are the legacy of a special situation created by the nationalist movement. Women always form the most passionate and even fanatical element in politics when they interest themselves in it. They are even more so in patriotic and nationalistic movements. Think only of Queen Louisa of Prussia. Their presence not only brings their own fervour into the movements, it also has a great emotional appeal for the men. I saw a number of girl revolutionaries in Calcutta around 1930, and I know what they meant to the young men.

Showmanship

Our women nationalists were a sort of Joan of Arcs in widest commonalty spread. But in India that alone would not have ensured their continuance in politics, far less brought them to high office. To secure that recognition they had to be in one or other of the nationalist sets, that of Mahatma Gandhi or that of Nehru, for instance. All the women who have held political office in the era of independence belonged to either of the entourages. To the sense of obligation towards a woman who adorned a nationist coterie has now been added a new motive, the desire to

obtain the good opinion of the West by showing that India can out-West the West in admitting the claims of women. Thus after independence women became an instrument of Indian political showmanship.

Mrs Gandhi is, of course, the most important stage figure in this showmanship. This is due to her dynastic origin, not to her own political antecedents which do not amount to much beyond the parental association. A more womanly association had almost broken this link by leading her to a marriage which was not to the liking of her father. But in the end the older affiliation prevailed, and she chose to keep her father's house. Even so her political role was so secondary that it would probably have come to an end with her father's death. She seemed to have felt this when after that event she thought that she had better leave politics.

But she was necessary to the Congress clique which held power. It could not do without Nehru's daughter. After Lal Bahadur Shastri's death she became even more indispensable as the only person who could avert a break-up of the Congress Party through personal feuds. She was, therefore, raised as the façade to the power of the dominant group.

I know that many people expect her to move from this dependent position to one of independence in her own right. I am inclined to disbelieve in the possibility. Titular positions come through birth, but effective positions only through ability. Mrs Gandhi has not been afraid of greatness, but that makes it all the more necessary for her to remember the rest of the hackneyed quotation : "Some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them."

If the powerful dynastic claim is put aside, I think I can say that in New Delhi alone there must be at least five thousand women who could grace the office of Prime Minister with personal accomplishments equal to Mrs Gandhi's. In respect of political record or political flair, there must also be many who could do as well. Two names come readily to my mind, though I do not want to be invidious.

Mrs Chakravarti in Opposition is a little Cossack of a woman politician whom I highly admire for her pugnacity and dogmatic fervour, which must be the Communistic version of the rigorous puritanism of her Brahmo ancestresses. She apparently has a good deal of abliity.

So has Maharani Gayatri Devi, who is the only woman politician in India who is worth both listening to and looking at. She would certainly have made a Prime Minister of the old woman-ruler type. But neither she nor Mrs Chakravarti is in the right party. And since they are not, the Congress leaders do not think that they owe even chivalry to them as brave women. The Maharani was once actually rudely treated by Nehru himself. When she contradicted him on a point he said loftily that he did not bandy words with a lady, which was, of course, worse discourtesy than hitting her hard in debate. But that is what we have come to in these days of acknowledged equality of the sexes. Women become equals of men only by belonging to the Congress.

Letter From America

"Boundaries Of Policy"

ROBI CHAKRAVORTI

ALTHOUGH the sudden public interest in the CIA stems from the recent disclosure of the Michigan State University Vietnam team's involvement with the CIA, discerning people, such as Senators Fulbright and Eugene McCarthy, have for some time past been complaining of the CIA's influence on U.S. policy making. Senator Fulbright's disenchantment with the American foreign policy, in fact, began with the political turmoil in the Dominican Republic in which the CIA played a key role.

Mann, an Under-Secretary of State, in course of a secret testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said that the decision to create the Imbert military junta was the State Department's and not the CIA's idea ; but, this does not exonerate the CIA from what it had done before. On the other hand, the State Department now admits sharing the guilt of direct interference in other countries' internal affairs with the CIA. Mann's testimony proves that on occasions the State Department and the CIA ride the same boat.

On many occasions, though, to keep the record straight, the Ambassadors had protested over the CIA actions. In 1954, for instance, William Sebald resigned as the Ambassador to Burma when the CIA continued helping Chinese nationalists in the northern border of Burma in the teeth of his opposition. In 1958, the Ambassador to Laos was bypassed by the CIA which chose to prop up the American puppet Phoumi Nosavon. It required the powerful intervention of Averell Harriman, then an Assistant Secretary of State, with President Kennedy's support, to overrule the CIA's backing of Nosavon ; American support was then switched to neutralist Souvanna Phouma.

In the light of the past record of the CIA in the area, Prince Norodom Sihanouk's recent charge that a group of Cambodian rebels was supported by the CIA acquires credence. About the charge, the *Times* says, "Even some senior United States Foreign Service officers said they were not sure that the Agency's firm denials meant no agent in the field, no obscure planner in the huge CIA building in Virginia, had strayed from the strict boundaries of policy."

The "boundaries of policy" are what concerns the present American critics of the CIA. But what seems

have been forgotten is that in the of the Sumatra uprising no less a than the Secretary of State ed the CIA action, and in the minican Republic, the State De- ment's action paralleled the A's. Were it not for a handful of t reporters and thoughtful Sena- the Dominican scandal would r have been known to the public. The point that should concern her countries is that there are situa- ns where the State Department and the CIA may combine their opera- ns. The question of stepping be- ond "the boundaries of policy" is a matter for Americans to decide. For other countries, the sources of fear of intervention continues to be as be- fore, two-fold; the inherent conser- vatism and communist-phobia of the State Department and the trigger- happy, eager beaver CIA agents. There is no guarantee that the current talks of curbing the CIA operations by the State Department will eliminate the fear of intervention altogether.

Some of the drastic, impertinent acts the CIA agents had engaged in the past may be controlled, but not the CIA's potentiality to do these. 'We will not do these again' is not the same thing as 'we cannot do these'. The long list of CIA activities, published so far, gives only a glimpse of their wide range. The list is, by no means, exhaustive, for many of its ac- tivities in unrecorded areas have re- mained secret and will remain so. But the little that has been published shows that the CIA is more than an espionage organization; it is an action organization, devoted to direct inter- ference in the politics of other coun- tries. Every country indulges in some sort of espionage activity or the other, and in cases of emergency, the espion- age agents may also indulge in little acts of sabotage. In the case of the CIA, sabotage and sponsoring of coun- ter-revolution against political leaders whom a particular American Admi- nistration may not like, seem to be its second nature. This is what makes the CIA such a dangerous organiza- tion.

Senator Eugene McCarthy has been campaigning for a full and complete investigation of the CIA by a special nine-member Senate Committee. His argument is that "the role of the CIA in the Dominican Republic and in a number of critical areas has raised serious questions about the relationship of the agency to the process of making and directing foreign policy." The Senator's efforts are likely to meet the same end as Senator Mike Mansfield's similar move in 1956. The CIA knows how to manipulate pressures which can thwart any move to investigate its operations. As long as there is the communist phobia in the American mind and the equal craze to see absolutely pure, non-Communist governments in power in other countries, no matter how undemocratic and unprogressive they may be, the CIA's power will remain. And as long as it remains a cloak and dagger organization, any outside investigation into its operation will be successfully resisted.

The problem with the CIA is, however, that it is, in practice, more concerned with using the dagger than the cloak, and unless there is a shift in emphasis, it will continue to pose a direct threat to political trends in other countries which, in the American opinion, may be considered inimical to American interests. This seems to be the basic message of the CIA story as reported in the *New York Times*. The American critics of the CIA are interested in putting a control on the CIA, but no control can change the CIA's image until the disposition of taking a direct hand in other countries' affairs is abandoned.

The Press

Session In Bombay

COMMENTATOR

MR T. T. Krishnamachari's left-handed support of the proposed Indo-U.S. Foundation has sent some papers into a flurry. There was an attempt to justify the U.S. secrecy over the manner of spending a part of the PL480 counterpart funds on the ground that the American Government was quite within its rights in not disclosing the items of expenditure. It was overlooked that the former Finance Minister did not question the U.S. action. His only argument was that the arrangement was not desirable, and the proposed Foundation merited support because it would freeze a part of the Cooley Fund which is now at the disposal of the U.S. Government.

The industrial correspondent of *The Statesman* quoted U.S. Embassay sources against Mr Krishnamachari's statement that Rs. 47 crores of U.S. expenditure out of the counterpart funds had not been accounted for by the Government. The Embassy maintained that there was no mystery at all about the money it had so far drawn for its expenditure. The total of such drawings since the start of the PL480 programmes in August 1956 is Rs. 93 crores, all of which is readily accounted for. The correspondent gave the breakdowns supplied by the Embassy, and the items of expenditure, as stated, are unexceptionable. But Mr Krishnamachari never contended that the U.S. Embassy did not have these figures or that the money was spent on activities or projects which India might not like. It is one thing to pass on information to a correspondent and quite another to submit it officially to the Government.

Obviously, the story needed some supplementing. Indian official sources who would not comment on Mr Krishnamachari's statement to the industrial correspondent of *The Statesman* came out of their reticence two days later. They denied that there was "any big unaccounted chunk of expenditure" by the U.S. Embassy out of the funds earmarked for its use. They said that at one stage,

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when Mr Krishnamachari was Finance Minister, the information which the U.S. Embassy had supplied to the Indian Government—although it was not bound to give an explanation—was not complete. The implication is that complete information has by now been supplied to the Government. At the same time, official sources admitted that there was no regular reporting about the expenses incurred by the U.S.A. and the Embassy gave information whenever asked for. It may be interesting to know when the Embassy submitted to the Government the details of the expenditure of Rs. 47 crores referred to by Mr Krishnamachari. Was it after the disclosure had been made? Someone should also clarify how many crores, according to official sources, make a "big chunk".

The Hindustan Times is disappointed that the unofficial resolution on the Foundation should have been allowed to be talked out in the AICC session. It thinks that the High Command has acted with altogether "needless diffidence". Mrs Gandhi should have faced her detractors squarely and demanded a formal approval by the AICC of the U.S. offer. If she had sought such support she would certainly have got it, and that would have put an end to the unseemly public debate that has been going on for the past several weeks. The ambiguous note on which the discussion ended leaves it open to attack from its opponents. The paper regrets that a proposal conceived as a gesture of goodwill has been the subject of a protracted debate in which political leaders who should have known better have hurled wild charges at the Government and have discovered sinister motives which are not there. "To anyone whose vision is not coloured by political motives all this fuss seems ludicrous". The critics of the proposal make the totally unwarranted assumption that the Indian representatives on the Foundation would be so lacking in patriotism and the Government in strength that they cannot be relied upon to block attempts to use the Foundation against national interests. The paper wonders if the political commotion over this matter would have been as great if this was not an election year.

Viewed in the context of recent newspaper trends the praise Mrs Gandhi has received from some of the national dailies for her performance at Bombay cannot be called quite unexpected. *The Indian Express*, whose columnist, Argus, had referred to Mrs Gandhi's inscrutable Mona Lisa smile on the eve of her election as the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, has discovered that "in the country as a whole Mrs Gandhi ranks as its greatest talisman". In the paper's opinion she certainly had the better of the encounter in Bombay. The measure of her political growth during the past few months is shown by the difference in her performance in Jaipur and Bombay. The paper says that there has been a considerable sharpening of knives among the Congress Leftists and among some elements of the Right since the Prime Minister first showed signs of independent thinking, of knowing and speaking her mind. Opposition from the Congress Left can be understood in the light of their rigid if obtuse adherence to dogmas long discarded by socialists the world over even if no single group of politicians, apart from the noisy Communists, is more responsible for India's economic doldrums today than those hard-core ideologues. But they have at least the courage of their convictions. The same cannot be said, however, of those Congress Rightists who are now attempting to embarrass Mrs Gandhi. The paper is naturally more angry with them, for the views they express today are uncommonly different from those identified with them over the years, and unless there has been an evangelistic group conversion overnight, it is difficult to explain their tactics as being other than opportunistic. The paper concedes that the Congress Rightists who are now training their guns on the Prime Minister have a right to do so. But it is a strange way of tackling the country's problems for members of a party to denigrate the leadership on the eve of a general election.

The Times of India is also annoyed with the critics of the Prime Minister, for opposition for the sake of opposition and criticism for its own sake invariably deflect attention from the main points at issue. What is worse, in the process legitimate criticism gets snowed under an avalanche of irrelevancies. Mrs Gandhi's critics were apparently less concerned with the details of policy than with attacking the leadership at the Centre. This was clear from the tone, not the contents, of their speeches. In a sense, the entire session was a repeat performance of the budget session of Parliament during which, too, Mrs Gandhi's critics in the Congress Party assumed the role of the Opposition. The paper has seen in the Bombay session an anxiety among certain Congressmen to cut the present leadership at the Centre down to size. This was evident in their preoccupation with the election to the Central Election Committee. The manoeuvrings by groups and cliques were less a normal political exercise than a means to discredit the present leadership of the party and the Government. All this blocked a detailed and fruitful discussion on several vital issues such as the circumstances which have led to increasing dependence on foreign aid, the need to modify industrial policy to the requirements of the Fourth Plan and measures to harness human and material resources with a view to avoiding past mistakes in implementing the Plan. The paper compliments Mrs Gandhi on her major contribution to the discussion. Her pointed reference to the need for "self-confidence and faith in ourselves" was an appropriate answer to criticism of foreign aid, the Indo-U.S. Foundation and the Government's economic policy.

Patriot is disappointed with the economic policy resolution in which "the air-conditioned AICC living on the beneficence of a handful of Bombay tycoons and having a gay time on a ship lent by a Goa millionaire" has kindly expressed sympathy for the people whose hardships it knows

are severe. The fact that once again credit facilities, rural works programmes, etc have been suggested to the Government, proves that the Congress is uncomfortably aware, in spite of Mr Patil's luxury cruise and Mr Subramaniam's PL480 wheat, that the people are getting restive. Crop insurance has been in the air for years; but the Government did not or could not do anything to assuage the misery of the small farmer because it had no powers to direct credit. As long as half a dozen banks who have flourished on the wealth of a handful of opportunistic enterpreneurs control the major part of credit and use their power mainly in the interests of growing monopoly, the agriculturist will continue to be starved off finances and both talk of effective social distribution of foodgrains and self-reliance will mean nothing. The most important steps that should be taken if the agricultural sector of the economy is to become independent, self-reliant and beyond scope of periodic scare by Mr Subramaniam are immediate and radical land reform and nationalisation of all big banks. The resolution side-steps these issues because they will hurt those vested interests who are expected to go to the aid of Mr Patil when he starts his election fund drive. The paper is sad at the defeat of Mr K. D. Malaviya which is of much greater significance than a personal discomfiture. Mr Malaviya had the support of the Congress President and it was assumed that the Prime Minister was not opposed to his election. If in spite of this he has been defeated, it is because the Patil and Morarji factions and their friends, the Andhra and Bengal bosses, had unitedly made up their minds that, firstly, no identified "leftist" should be in a position to influence the choice of candidates for the general election and, secondly, the Congress President and the Prime Minister should be made to realise that whatever they may say about the continuity of socialist policies and the encouragement they are prepared to extend to progressive minded people in the organisation and outside, the tendency in the party is towards increasing conservatism and rule of caucuses.

Letters

Vietnam

Ominous portents can now be seen in the hesitating policy of the Government of India towards Vietnam. As co-chairman of the International Control Commission the role of the Indian Government does not appear to be bright. During her State visit to the U.S.A. Mrs Gandhi expressed her full awareness of the difficulties of the U.S. in Vietnam. About a year ago, the fortnightly journal of the All India Congress Committee. *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, had published an editorial in defence of all sorts of atrocities committed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Now New Delhi has come out with open support of the neo-fascist Ky regime in Vietnam, through various trade-pacts. In a bilateral trade pact with the United States New Delhi has permitted the Allied Lamp Co to export 30,000 pieces of 4 ft long tube lamps, to South Vietnam. TELCO has been permitted to export military trucks, diesel engines and spare parts of omnibuses to South Vietnam. Recently, Arjun Singh Arora, a Congress member of the Rajya Sabha, gave a call attention notice on this subject. Mr Arora in unequivocal terms declared that the supply of military trucks to the Ky regime was an open breach of the policy of non-alignment.

Democratic opinion in our country can reasonably raise the question: Are these signs of a change in the foreign policy owing to PL 480 wheat and dollar aid? We should remember that the U.S. wheat and dollars are tainted with the blood of the innocent Vietnamese.

BHASKAR GHOSH
Calcutta

Revolution

Mr Nirad C. Chaudhuri's essay on the possibility of an Indian revolution has left me wondering. What else is in it but sheer egotism! He was perhaps most apply assessed by a senior major in the Indian Artillery when I drew his attention to the polemics on the Indo-Pakistani war appearing in *Now*. The major examined very carefully the points and counterpoints put forth by Messrs Chaudhuri and Emmerson and then said to me in a very cold voice: "The amateur always tries to beat the professional in two things. Do you know what these are?—Strategy and prostitution". I have no intention to be that cold and uncharitable to Mr Chaudhuri; but, I am sure, revolution is not his good point. There are other subjects, say, another Indian renaissance to be caused by an American invasion or the tragedy of the aged and unmarried working girls for him to try. Revolution is, after all, a dirty game meant for the mediocre and the *canaille* and not for Mr Chaudhuri who is the only living Indian writer having both ideas and feelings.

S. DASGUPTA
Jadavpur

Mr Nirad C. Chaudhuri has written remarkable articles in *Now* regarding the impossibility of revolution in Indian society. He considers that India is a hopeless case. The required conditions for revolution do not exist at present and in the past too we did not seize the opportunity in 1947.

Mr Chaudhuri has a sound mind. He has deep insight but there is a but. He has no faith but doubts, no confidence but fears, no hope but despair. I have nothing to say in praise of the ruling party. Even if it is accepted that its conduct has not been satisfactory during the last eighteen years, this does not mean that we are incorrigible people, and as such are destined to lose opportunities one after another. Instead of spreading pessimism, I would appeal to Mr Chaudhuri to wield his pen for strengthening the ideological front of the revolutionary forces. He should write something by which our ideological resistance is strengthend and morale is built up. We live in a diffi-

ult age. His guidance is required. Society is discarding the traditional ways of life but we have no ready-made values to offer to the teeming millions. Will Mr Chaudhuri take up this uphill task?

KRISHNA DHAWAN (MRS)
New Delhi.

Nayak

The other day I saw the new Ray film *Nayak* in a mofussil-town cinema-house. It was a week-day evening. What struck me immediately as I stepped into the hall was the composition and attitude of the viewers. First, about their composition. Most of them were apparently not regular movie-hunters, and not affluent—at least from their dress and manners it was clear that they were not eager to indulge in any show of affluence (genuine or pseudo), sophistication or snobbery. Then about their attitude. They were unusually calm and serious. Nobody shouted—not even for tea or nuts or cold-drinks. During the interval few cared to go out. What was writ large on their faces was *expectancy*. To me, they looked like a band of the faithful waiting reverentially for the ritual to begin.

About the film itself. Well, I leave the commentator's job to fellows better equipped for it. What amazed me was the total effect. I saw the "hero's" world through his dark glasses and I learnt that things were not what they seemed either behind the silver screen or behind the passing show of the society at large. I felt terribly sorry. And then I had another feeling. I felt a deep, inexplicable, almost passionate love for life. Ray did the trick.

AMIYA KUMAR BANDYOPADHYAY
Hooghly

Mr Satyajit Ray has got a faithful admirer in Mr Chidananda Das Gupta and Mr Das Gupta is a clever admirer. He knows how to canvas in favour of a film. In his review of *Nayak* he extravagantly eulogized the film, analysed the details in a way which is absolutely meaningless and behind the dark glasses he found "the sadness of Dolce Vita which is not the monopoly of film stars." But is it not silly to compare the agony, the pangs of the hero of La Dolce Vita, with the momentary reflections of the *Nayak* which seem to be pretentious? Has Mr Das Gupta discovered a Fellini mother-woman in Sharmila Tagore, "a sharp-witted young journalist?" Fellini also presents a film actress in *La Dolce Vita* and that episode shows the decay of a society, if not of a civilization.

Indeed Satyajit Ray wants to be modern, up to date, and fashionable; he does not want to portray his time, his society, his country in his film.

His *Pather Panchali*, his *Aparajita* were not apparently modern. But in reality they are modern films of all ages. Craftsmanship cannot make a film modern; at best it can make a film smart, a *Nayak*. It is a pity that living in the Bengal of 1966 one of our best directors is making a film like *Nayak*. My conviction is that Satyajit Ray is afraid of facing the reality and unable to establish significant human relations. Otherwise, he could not create a *Nayak* who has practically no relations with the outer world; he has no mother, no brother, no sister; no significant relations.

PARTHA PROTIM BANERJEE
Naihati, 24-Parganas

I am not satisfied with Mr Satyajit Ray's treatment of the theme of tragic loneliness in *Nayak* despite all the pleadings of C. Das Gupta. Mr Ray views the problem as something personal and accidental in the hero's life, not something immanent in the world in which his hero lives. The story of Shankarda, the affair with Sumita Sanyal, the hero's connection with the leftist leader—these are all personal and accidental elements. Also they are not serious and absorbing enough to shake up the emotional world of a person whom Mr Ray wants to invest with tragic grandeur. Any healthy man with some reasoning and strength of character can easily brush aside the sentimental sorrow evoked round the story of Shankarda; nor should he care much for his conventional and commonplace ideas. The affair with Sumita Sanyal means nothing unless we are made to experience the inevitability of such an affair in the world in which he lives and to what extent it contributes to the main theme and why. As to the case of the leftist leader, we are never permitted to learn what is there in the hero which prevents his making a public appearance at the meeting with the leftist leader. Now about the much talked about dream. What is the point at all in introducing it? Is it merely a pretext for the much-needed interview with the beautiful journalist? If not, what is then the background of his horror? Is it merely a sentimental money phobia or something else? For money in itself is not all that horrible. Is it then black money? In fact the dream has no organic connection with the main plot, if there is any such thing. For the story is an aggregate of loosely connected threads—a mechanical mixture. And it is this lack of an organic plot which detracts from the quality of the production. It is not that loneliness is unjustified in the hero. For in a world which is fed by black money, infested by black marketeers and immoral business tycoons and haunted by wantom passions born of this money-fed civilisation, it is not unnatural for an individual to suffer from a tragic sense of loneliness if he is entrapped and driven to commit offence against morality, the memory of which might perpetually haunt his mind and prevent him from being easy with others and returning to the normal. But it is not seen that way—from that objective standpoint.

NIRMAL K. BASU
Chinsura

Film Journalists

Mr Asoke Sarkar, Editor, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, addressing the film journalists at the BFJA awards ceremony, is reported by *Hindusthan Standard*, to have said: "You have set a high tradition of integrity and impartiallity" of film journalists of West Bengal.

I should like to point out the following in this context: After the un-

expected success of *Pather Panchali*, practically all the film journalists got together and started a planned offensive against *Aparajito*. This was later admitted in private by one of the leaders of the local film journalists after *Aparajito* won the Venice Award. When Karuna Banerjee spoke critically about Bengali films at the seminar at Delhi, on the occasion of the Second International Film Festival, her views were distorted, torn out of context, and she was maliciously maligned by the local film journalists. Mrinal Sen's stylistic experiments in *Akash Kusum* have been attacked in an organised manner by the film journalists. The success of this film in the national awards has made them go mad with anger. Finding it difficult to attack Satyajit Ray directly, the latest method of these film journalists is to try to kill his *Nayak* by damaging it with faint praise. A director's film is being presented as a film in which Ray's role is of the least significance.

It may be argued that the attitude towards experimental films may be the result of the poor critical sensibilities of the film journalists. When practically everyone sings to the same tune, however, there is good reason to see the invisible hand of vested interests.

The inclusion of film journalists with such a "high tradition of integrity and impartiality" in the Awards Committees would be the surest way to kill any attempt to enhance the artistic standards of our films.

KUMAR SEN
Calcutta

"Calcutta Diary"

Sm Gita Bandyopadhyay's letter (May 20) amused me. Her accusations against the writers of 'Calcutta Diary' are totally unfounded. Her allergy to 'generalised topics' amply testifies to her bent of mind. It can be shown from a general survey of topics discussed in 'Calcutta Diary' in the last few issues of 'Now' that some of the most urgent problems of our day-to-day life have been ably analysed by the diarists. No right-thinking person can accuse them of writing sentimental and personal pieces. In fact, Sm Bandyopadhyay's approach becomes evident when she amusingly accuses the writers of 'Calcutta Diary' of being 'political'. To write about mass struggles and to analyse political situations is, to her, to be a 'dogmatist preacher'. Any sensible person will, however, think otherwise.

Problems affecting a particular State or for that matter, the whole of India can justifiably be analysed in 'Calcutta Diary' because we have ceased to live in a localised world. What happens far away or what happens in a so-called political situation, has a direct bearing on our lives and therefore we should make ourselves acquainted with them. Viewed in this perspective, the topics dicussed in 'Calcutta Diary' are bound to satisfy the general readers who want some refreshing analysis of prevailing situations and problems.

DEBASISH DUTTA
Serampore

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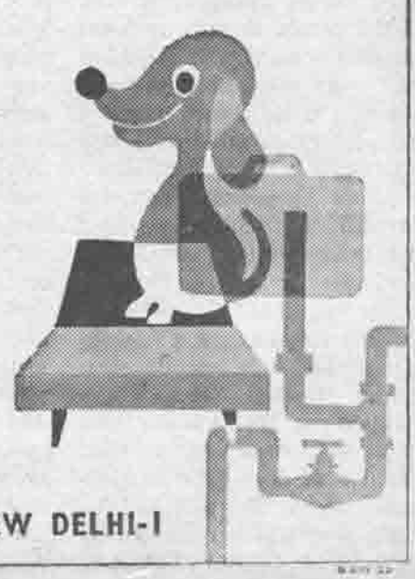
REVOLUTIONISING INDUSTRY
With its unique physical and chemical qualities, SHRIRAM P V C is fast taking the place of glass, rubber, even metal... swiftly becoming the material for a host of industrial applications.

GOING PLACES
Quite a globe trotter by now! SHRIRAM P V C embarks in large quantities for more and more countries all over the word. ample testimony to the distinguished reputation of SHRIRAM P V C Resins & Compounds



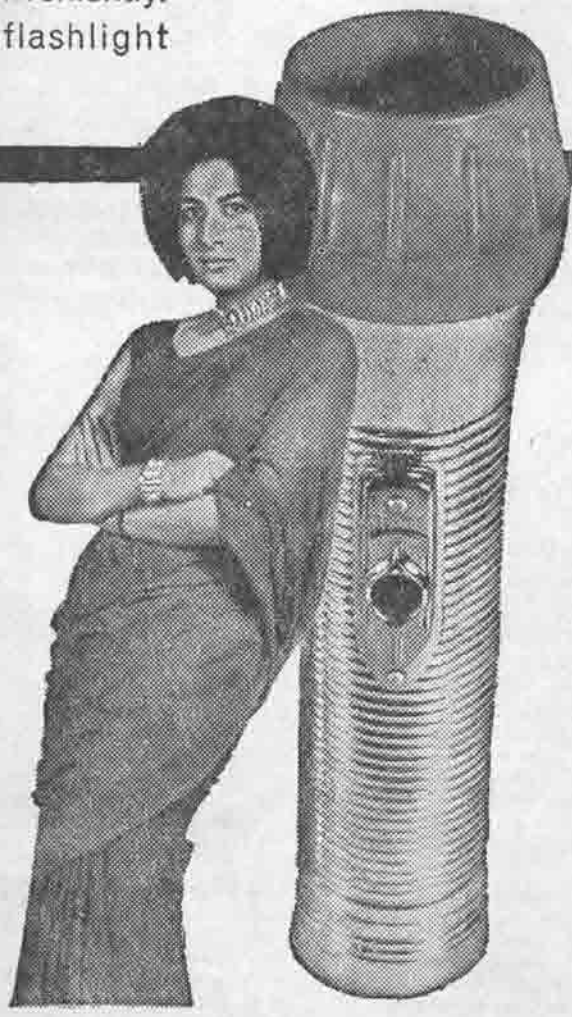
SHRIRAM VINYL & CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, NEW DELHI-1

a flashlight to lean on !

Here is a flashlight that is dependable. Its unfailing performance has made it an ideal companion everywhere. It's compact and it slips into the vanity bag conveniently. Keep JANTA flashlight handy.

JANTA

A GEEP Product



A SHERVANI ENTERPRISE

GEEP FLASHLIGHT INDUSTRIES LTD.
28 SOUTH ROAD,
ALLAHABAD-1.

STERLING-GF-492

Low in Phosphorus

FERROMANGANESE

and

SPIEGEL

BY ELECTRIC FURNACE

*

Approximate Analysis:

	Ferromanganese	*Spiegel*
Manganese	68-74%	5-30%
Carbon	6.5-7%	4-6%
Silicon	0.15-0.60%	0.20-0.80%
Phosphorus	0.05-0.10%	0.08-0.12%
Sulphur	0.002-0.01%	0.002-0.01%
Iron	Rest	Rest

*

We also manufacture

Low Carbon Ferromanganese.

ELECTRO METALLURGICAL WORKS LTD.,

20, P.M. Road, BOMBAY-1 BR.